

Message Text

SECRET

PAGE 01 BONN 07463 291730Z
ACTION ACDA-10

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 ISO-00 ERDA-05 CIAE-00 H-01 INR-07
IO-13 L-03 NSAE-00 OIC-02 OMB-01 PA-01 PM-04
PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 USIA-06 TRSE-00 NSC-05 ACDE-00
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P R 291719Z APR 77
FM AMEMBASSY BONN
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 7849
INFO SECDEF WASHDC
AMEMBASSY LONDON
USMISSION NATO BRUSSELS
USDEL MBFR VIENNA
USNMR SHAPE
CINC EUR VAIHINGEN

S E C R E T BONN 07463

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: PARM, NATO, MBFR, GW
SUBJECT: MBFR: US-FRG BILATERAL

REF: USNATO 2429 DTG 261820Z APR 77

1. A CHECK WITH THE FONOFF TODAY REVEALED THERE IS
LITTLE LIKELIHOOD THE FRG DATA PAPER WOULD BE PASSED
TO US PRIOR TO RUTH'S DEPARTURE FOR WASHINGTON ON MAY 2.
GENSCHER DOES NOT RETURN FROM HIS ASIAN TRIP UNTIL THIS
EVENING AND WILL PROBABLY NOT APPROVE THE PAPER UNTIL
MONDAY AT THE EARLIEST.

2. WE HAVE HAD NO INDICATION THAT THE FRG IS CONSIDER-
ING A MODIFICATION OF ITS POSITION ON THE TABLING OF
NATIONAL SUB-TOTALS. ON THE CONTRARY, WE EXPECT THE
FRG WILL MAINTAIN ITS POSITION, WHILE AT THE SAME TIME
DEFINING MORE PRECISELY THE ADVANTAGES OF A COMBINED
SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 02 BONN 07463 291730Z

DUTCH/FUNCTIONAL APPROACH IN AN ATTEMPT TO CONVINCE
US THAT IT IS AT LEAST WORTH TRYING IN VIENNA.

3. THE PROBLEM WHICH WASHINGTON AUTHORITIES FACE IS HOW
TO CONVINCE RUTH, WHO IN TURN MUST PERSUADE GENSCHER,
THAT GERMAN LONG-TERM INTERESTS WILL NOT BE DAMAGED BY
THE TABLING OF BUNDESWEHR TOTALS. WE SECOND USNATO'S

ARGUMENT (REFTEL) THAT CONSIDERATION BE GIVEN TO STRENGTHENING THE DRAFT GUIDANCE TEXT TO REASSURE THE GERMANS THAT COLLECTIVITY MEANS AS MUCH TO US AND THE OTHER ALLIES AS TO THEM. WHILE USE OF THE ALLIED POSITION ON COLLECTIVITY WITH THE EAST MIGHT PREMATURELY FOCUS THE NEGOTIATION ON PHASE II ISSUES, AS USNATO POINTS OUT, WE BELIEVE, ON THE OTHER HAND, THAT THE GERMANS MIGHT INSIST THAT ANY DISCLAIMER IN CONJUNCTION WITH THE TABLING OF NATIONAL SUB-TOTALS INCORPORATE THE COLLECTIVITY PRINCIPLE. MOREOVER, THE COLLECTIVITY PRINCIPLE IS NOT NEW TO THE EAST, AND WESTERN NEGOTIATORS SHOULD BE ABLE TO KEEP THE FOCUS ON THE NUMBERS RATHER THAN THE PRINCIPLE.

4. ANOTHER SERIOUS FRG CONCERN WHICH WASHINGTON AUTHORITIES SHOULD CONSIDER ADDRESSING IS WHAT THE ALLIANCE SHOULD DO IF, AFTER THE TABLING OF NATIONAL FIGURES, EASTERN FORCES STILL TOTAL 805,000 AND THE WEST CANNOT IDENTIFY THE SOURCE OF THE DISCREPANCY BETWEEN OUR ESTIMATES AND THEIR OFFICIAL FIGURES. RUTH APPEARS TO BELIEVE THAT THIS IS WHERE THE TABLING OF NATIONAL FORCE TOTALS WOULD LEAD ANYWAY, WITH THE ADDED DIS-ADVANTAGE THAT THE SOVIET UNION WOULD THEN BE ABLE TO ZERO IN ON THE BUNDESWEHR TOTALS.

5. WHILE WE RECOGNIZE WASHINGTON'S DESIRE TO PUSH AHEAD ON THE DATA DISCUSSION IN VIENNA AS RAPIDLY AS POSSIBLE, IT MIGHT BE NECESSARY, IN ORDER ULTIMATELY TO SECURE FRG AGREEMENT TO TABLING OF NATIONAL SUB-
SECRET

SECRET

PAGE 03 BONN 07463 291730Z

TOTALS, TO CONSIDER A COMPROMISE FORMULA SUCH AS THE DUTCH/FUNCTIONAL APPROACH WHICH THE GERMANS ARE CURRENTLY ADVOCATING. PERHAPS ONLY AFTER DEMONSTRATING IN THE NEGOTIATIONS THE FUTILITY OF SUCH AN APPROACH WILL IT BE POSSIBLE TO OBTAIN FRG AGREEMENT TO THE NATIONAL SUB-TOTALS OPTION.

6. THE FIRM BELIEF AT THE POLITICAL LEVEL IN BONN, HELD BY BOTH THE CHANCELLOR AND FOREIGN MINISTER, IS THAT THERE CAN BE NO PROGRESS IN MBFR UNTIL SALT MOVES. ACCORDINGLY, WE KNOW RUTH WOULD BE MOST INTERESTED IN HEARING OF THE LATEST DEVELOPMENTS IN SALT. THE MESSAGE WHICH WE BELIEVE HE SHOULD BRING HOME TO GENSCHER IS THAT THE U.S. AND SOVIETS ARE MOVING AHEAD ON SALT, WE ARE INTERESTED IN KEEPING UP THE MOMENTUM IN MBFR, AND THE ONLY WAY TO DO SO IS TO OVERCOME THE DATA DISCUSSION IMPASSE.

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